

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSES OF THE OF WOMEN AND MEN AND THEIR ATTITUDES TO THE SIX PURITY LAWS

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this section of the thesis is an analysis of the attitudes of Zoroastrians to six purity laws about which questions were asked in the 2003 survey. The analyses will deal with which women and men support and reject the six purity laws, and which purity laws are supported or rejected. When the data is broken down by gender, as in table 6: 'Women and men who affirmed or rejected the six purity laws', it is found that the women affirmed all six purity laws at higher percentage levels than the men. The respondents do not answer each of the six purity laws in the same way. Thus, for each of the laws there is a different percentage of affirmation/ rejection and this will be called the ranking of the six purity laws.

THE SIX PURITY LAWS TO BE CONSIDERED FOR ANALYSES

When the questionnaire was drawn up for the 2003 survey, the results of the 2004 survey in India by Mistry and Cama, which was discussed in chapter 2, were not known. However, their results can be born in mind when the analyses of the 2003 European survey are being discussed. It was considered inappropriate to ask detailed questions on the purity laws in the 2003 survey, because the subject was considered sensitive and had not been raised before in Europe. It was known by the author that particular purity laws were at the centre of considerable debate amongst Zoroastrians in Europe. Thus, it was decided to ask fairly general questions on this subject that respondents might be reluctant to answer in a questionnaire conducted by a non-Zoroastrian. A future survey drawn up to look specifically at the

purity laws of Zoroastrians in Europe, might ask more detailed questions, in the style of the Mistry / Cama survey in Gujarat. The questions about the purity laws in the 2003 survey were simpler and different from the Mistry / Cama survey, and based upon personal knowledge of the Zoroastrian community in Europe. They were as follows, in the format as asked in the 2003 questionnaire:

TABLE 1 THE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PURITY LAWS FROM THE 2003 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE			
1. In your opinion, should Zoroastrian women in Europe avoid the following during menstruation?			
		Yes	No
a	Prayer		
b	Prayer room		
c	Contact with priest		
d	Attending Favardigan/ Muktrad ceremonies		
e	Attending Jashans		
f	Other, please specify		
2. In your opinion should Zoroastrian Women in Europe observe the purity laws associated with childbirth?			
			Yes
..... No			
3. In your opinion, are there other purity laws that should be observed by Zoroastrians, either men or/ and women, in Europe? Please specify.....			

The questions 1f and 3 were open questions, asking for the respondent's own ideas about aspects of Zoroastrian purity laws. The other questions, 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e and 2 were direct questions on the questionnaire and required answers of 'yes, or 'no' or 'no response'. They, henceforth, will be known collectively as 'the six purity laws' and they are the focus of the analyses of the purity

laws in this thesis. The questions about the six purity laws asked how they should be observed, not how the individual respondent, in practice, observed them. In further surveys, dealing with European Zoroastrians and Zoroastrian purity laws it would be beneficial for the research to ask questions about the respondent's own practices, though there could be a high 'no response' rate to the questions because of the sensitive personal, nature of such questions.

THE BENCH MARKS FOR THE ANALYSES OF THE SIX PURITY LAWS

Bench marks from the results of the analyses of the 1976 and 1985 surveys, relating the respondents' demographic characteristics to their attitudes to the religious values, will be applied to identify 'expected' and 'unexpected' results from the 2003 survey, and will help to summarise some of the conclusions from these analyses. These are listed in tabular form below.

BENCH MARKS
1. Respondents born in Europe, or came as young children, are less likely to support the religious values than people who came to Europe as adults.
2. The older the respondent the more likely they are to support the religious values and vice versa
3. Zoroastrians who had married non-Zoroastrians do not affirm the religious values to the same extent as those who have Zoroastrian partners.
4. The members of nuclear families, especially those with young children, give more support for the religious values compared with the members of extended families or nuclear families without children.
5. The country or area the respondent lived before coming to Europe: respondents India and Africa support the religious values at a higher level than respondents from Pakistan or 'other' parts of the world, followed by respondents from Iran and Europe.
6. The type of environment: respondents from the metropolitan cities give less support for the religious values than those from an urban or rural environment.

BENCH MARKS
7. The decade of arrival: respondents before 1970 give less support for the religious values and after 1970 more support for the religious values
8. The type of education of the respondents: Those who have a scientific education show a lower affirmation of the religious values than other respondents
9. The higher up the educational scales the less likely are respondents to support the religious values.
10. The higher up the occupational scales the less likely were the respondents to support the religious values.

THE RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PURITY LAWS IN THE 2003 SURVEY

Generally the 'no response' rates were low for the direct questions, 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e and 2, being on average only 7% However, the 'no response' was very high for the two open questions, 1f and 3.

TABLE 2 THE PURITY LAWS			
Menstruating women should avoid:	Yes	No	No response
1a. Prayer	32%(191)	60%(361)	8%(51)
1b. Prayer room	54%(328)	39%(235)	7%(40)
1c. Priest	49%(297)	44%(264)	7%(42)
1d. Favardigan/ Mukta ceremonies	55%(334)	38%(232)	6%(37)
1e. Jashans	51%(307)	42%(254)	7%(42)
1f. 'other'	9%(55)	9%(57)	89%(491)

TABLE 2 THE PURITY LAWS			
Menstruating women should avoid:	Yes	No	No response
2. Zoroastrian women should observe childbirth rituals	33%(199)	60%(259)	7%(45)
3. 'Other' purity laws to be observed by men and women	12%(75)	25%(153)	62%(375)

The majority of the respondents affirm that menstruating women should avoid Favardigan/ Muktrad ceremonies, the prayer room, Jashans and the priest. However, the majority, 60%, of both men and women reject the idea that women should avoid praying during menstruation. Similarly, the majority reject that Zoroastrian women should observe the purity laws associated with childbirth.

The questions 1f and 3 gave the respondents the chance to list other purity laws that they thought should to be followed by menstruating Zoroastrian women in Europe (1f) and by both men and women (3). The 'no response' rates were high for these open ended questions, being 81% for question 1f and 62% for question 3. Appendix D Table 1: Menstruating Zoroastrian women should avoid 'other', and table 2: 'Other purity laws for Zoroastrian men and women', lists all the responses to these two questions. In the answers to the question relating to 'other' purity laws to be observed by menstruating women in Europe, respondents gave comments such as avoiding initiation and marriage ceremonies, wearing their religious garments, touching any object to do with

Zoroastrianism. Ten percent of the respondents voice their objections to such purity laws with comments which range from 'nonsense custom', 'impossible to maintain in Western Diaspora', 'It is normal to menstruate', 'Women have the right to express their spirituality', to 'Never believed in this discrimination. Outrageous women and men equal in Zoroastrianism'. The remainder of the respondents, 81%, did not reply to this question. The responses dealing with the question about purity laws for both men and women suggest that Zoroastrian men and women take care to wash and say certain prayers after using the lavatory and after sex. One respondent just put '!!' in the questionnaire, which was an effective way of conveying his views on the purity laws. There were other responses to the question about 'other purity laws for both men and women' with replies such as 'Bath before ceremonies, bath after funeral', 'No lust, no greed, cleanliness of body, mind and soul', 'Men or women bleeding from orifices or anywhere'. On the whole, the responses to the question dealing with 'other' purity laws for both men and women alluded to ideas of cleanliness with regard to religious observance. No smoking was mentioned several times. Twelve percent of the respondents said that there were other purity laws to be observed by men and women, but 25% said that there were none to be observed. Only one respondent mentioned bathing after cutting hair and nails, which is a practice that Boyce noted of relatively minor inconvenience to the Zoroastrian compared to the rigors of the purity laws concerned with menstrual flow and child birth.¹ It is not known how many Zoroastrians in Europe follow the purity laws concerned with bathing after cutting hair and nails or how they dispose of the cuttings. Women were less likely than men to say that there were 'other' purity laws that applied to both men and women. Thirty eight percent, 228 respondents, replied to this question and it was surprising that there were not more responses since there are many other potential polluting situations in

Zoroastrianism, as described in chapter 2 in the section dealing 'Concepts of Purity and Pollution in Zoroastrianism'. There it was noted that Mary Boyce writes that 'it is impossible for a woman, and difficult for a man, to avoid all ritual uncleanness; purity being part of morality for Zoroastrians, various rites existed for restoring it'.² The worst pollutants are anything emanating from the body such as excrement or blood and the worst pollutant of all is a newly dead body, especially that of a good person because the power of victory of Ahriman is greater.³ Not least of the list of pollutants leaving the human body, is breath, which is holy within the body but dead when expelled and that is why the priests wear a mask when praying before the fire. Choksy, in his book *'Purity and Pollution in Zoroastrianism'*, lists numerous purity laws for both men and women in their daily lives and writes that 'Thus, all substances leaving the body are considered ritually impure and polluting in varying degrees'.⁴ These substances include nails, hair, skin, breath, saliva, blood, semen, faeces, tears, milk as well as menstrual fluid.⁵ Thus, it was expected that there would be a much higher response rate to the second of the two questions about 'other' purity laws. None of the respondents mentioned that women should wash their hair after menses, before going to the prayer room, or the seclusion of menstruating women. This may indicate lack of knowledge, indifference to or unwillingness to discuss the purity laws on the part of the respondents. Perhaps the respondents did not want to commit themselves beyond the six direct questions asked in the 2003 questionnaire. Purity and pollution are central to Zoroastrianism, but the concepts are kept well away from the gaze and knowledge of non-Zoroastrians: the researcher, the author, who administered and analysed the 2003 survey, is a non-Zoroastrian.

In chapter 2, the Zoroastrian tenet that some pollutants were more polluting than others and the fact that all the purity laws are

equally 'good' was discussed. The data from the 2003 survey, however, shows that the respondents consider that it is more important for menstruating women to avoid some situations than others, as evidenced by a higher affirm response rate for some of the six purity laws than others. The relevance of this is discussed later. The ranking, 1-6, of the six purity laws, in order of percentage affirmation by the respondents, is shown in table 5.

TABLE 5 THE SIX PURITY LAWS AND THE ORDER OF AFFIRMATION BY THE RESPONDENTS			
Questionnaire number	The purity law	Percent affirmation	Rank
1d.	Menstruating women should avoid the Favardigan/ Muktrad ceremonies	55%	1
1b.	Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room	54%	2
1e.	Menstruating women should avoid Jashans	51%	3
1c.	Menstruating women should avoid the Priest	49%	4
2.	Zoroastrian women should observe the rituals after childbirth	33%	5
1a.	Menstruating women should avoid prayer	32%	6

The majority of respondents affirm that menstruating women should avoid the Favardigan/ Muktrad ceremonies for the dead, the prayer room, Jashans, and the priest; the percentage figures of affirmation are close, 55%-49%, respectively. The figures for those respondents who reject these laws are 38%, 39%, 42%, 44% respectively. The majority of the respondents, 60%, rejected law 1a, that during menstruation women should avoid prayer, but 32% of the respondents affirm that they should avoid prayer. Also, 59% of the respondents rejected law 2, that women should observe the

child birth rituals, but 33% said that women should take part in child birth rituals. There is very little difference in the percentage affirmation/ rejection of these two laws in terms of ranking them fifth and sixth. There were few 'no responses' to these questions, on average 7% to 8%, indicating that the respondents were willing to answer questions about knowledge or belief in the six purity laws.

The low affirmation for women to observe the child birth rituals, is a surprising result given that child birth is considered to be very polluting in Zoroastrian theology.⁶ Some of the respondents said that in Europe it was not possible to for Zoroastrian women to undergo the child birth rituals. As can be seen from the questions asked in the Mistry/ Cama 2004 survey of Zoroastrians in Mumbai, in chapter 2, these rituals are complex and lengthy, and the province of Zoroastrian women. To have a still birth is a case of very serious pollution and the woman has to undergo a rigorous series of purification rituals before she is considered to be ritually non-polluting.⁷

ANALYSIS OF THE SIX PURITY LAWS BY GENDER

It has been noted in the analyses of the data from the two previous surveys and the data from the 2003 survey, that women and men have different percentage affirmation and rejection of Zoroastrian religious values. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the responses of the men and the women, rather than the total group of men and women, to the six questions dealing with specific named purity laws. In table 6: 'Women and men who affirmed or rejected the six purity laws', the responses of men and women to the six purity laws are given. As can be seen, the women gave more support to the six purity laws than the men did. On average the women gave 59% support compared with the men's 39%. Also, the women gave more support to 'Menstruating women should

avoid prayer', 38%, than to 'Women should observe child birth rituals', 35%, whereas, 31% percent of the men supported 'Women should observe the child birth rituals' and 26% supported 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer'. This is a ranking that is followed by the women throughout the detailed analyses, that is 'Women should observe the child birth rituals' is ranked sixth whereas for the men it is ranked fifth.

TABLE 6 WOMEN AND MEN WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED THE SIX PURITY LAWS							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardig an/ Mukta d Ceremon ies	Prayer Room	Jashan s	Priest	Child Birth Ritual s	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Men and Women total group of men and women affirm reject	603	55% 38%	54% 39%	51% 42%	49% 44%	3% 59%	32% 60%
women N=	298	64% 190	63% 188	60% 178	58% 172	35% 104	38% 112
men N=	293	47% 138	46% 134	42% 123	41% 120	31% 91	26% 76
women N=	298	30% 91	31% 92	37% 100	37% 109	58% 172	54% 161
men N=	293	47% 139	48% 141	52% 152	52% 152	62% 181	67% 195

QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED OF THE DATA

The data allows a detailed analysis to determine the attributes and characteristics of the women and men who affirm or reject the six purity laws. For example, is affirmation dependent upon place of

origin, age, education, occupation, religious education, religious beliefs and practices? Are there any differences or similarities between the women's and men's attitudes to the purity laws? Do the women affirm the six purity laws at a consistently higher rate than the men? Are the rankings of the purity laws consistent throughout the analyses? If the rankings change, in what context do they change? What is the difference in the change of rankings between those of the sub-groups of women and those of the sub-groups of men?

In order to give a 'black and white' picture of the how the men and women responded to the questions on these purity laws, the respondents who affirmed all six questions were compared with those who rejected all six questions. There were 64 women respondents in the affirmation group, 21% of the total number of women in the data set, and there were 69 women respondents in the 'rejecting' group, 23% of the total group of women. For the men, there were 44 respondents in the 'affirming' group, 15% of the total number of men in the data set, and there were 113 respondents in the 'rejecting' group, 38% of the total group of men. There are nearly twice as many men in the 'rejecting' group, 113, as there are women in their 'rejecting' group, 69, but only two thirds of men, 44, in their 'affirming' group compared with the women's 'affirming' group, 64.

TABLE 7 DEMOGRAPHY: WOMEN AND MEN WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL SIX PURITY LAW QUESTIONS						
Age	under 30 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60-69 years	70+ years
women	5%	17%	12%	14%	27%	25%
N=64	3	11	8	9	17	16
men	4%	9%	23%	4%	27%	32%

TABLE 7 DEMOGRAPHY: WOMEN AND MEN WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL SIX PURITY LAW QUESTIONS						
N=44	2	4	10	2	12	14
women	15%	17%	17%	25%	9%	16%
N=69	10	12	12	17	6	11
men	12%	6%	12%	27%	19%	22%
N=113	13	7	14	31	22	25
Marital status	single	married				
women	14%	86%				
N=64	9	55				
men	18%	82%				
N=44	8	36				
women	16%	84%				
N=69	11	58				
men	16%	84%				
N=113	18	95				
Marital Partner	Zoroastrian	non-Zoroastrian				
women	85%	15%				
N=55	48	7				
men	77%	4%				
N=36	34	2				
women	64%	35%				
N=58	37	20				
men	52%	48%				
N=96	50	46				
Type of Family	nuclear	extended				
women	19%	69%				
N=64	12	44				
men	9%	77%				
N=44	4	34				
women	17%	74%				
N=69	12	51				
men	15%	71%				
N=113	17	80				

TABLE 7 DEMOGRAPHY: WOMEN AND MEN WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL SIX PURITY LAW QUESTIONS						
Place live now	Greater London area	other				
women	75%	29%				
N=64	48	56				
men	70%	27%				
N=44	31	12				
women	46%	51%				
N=69	32	35				
men	42%	57%				
N=113	47	64				
Country of Origin	India	Pakistan	Africa	Iran	other	born UK
women	50%	6%	28%	2%	2%	12%
N=64	32	4	18	1	1	8
men	57%	4%	20%		2%	16%
N=44	25	2	9		1	7
women	45%	3%	10%	4%	6%	32%
N=69	31	2	7	3	4	22
men	47%	9%	13%	7%	3%	20%
N=113	63	10	15	8	4	23
Metropolitan/urban rural	metropolitan	urban or rural				
women	48%	37%				
N=64	31	24				
men	45%	34%				
N=44	20	15				
women	41%	26%				
N=69	28	18				
men	52%	23%				
N=113	59	26				
Arrival before 1970/after 1970	before 1970	after 1970			no response	
women	39%	53%			9%	
N=64	25	54			5	
men	52%	34%			14%	

TABLE 7 DEMOGRAPHY: WOMEN AND MEN WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL SIX PURITY LAW QUESTIONS						
N=44	23	15	6			
women	29%	43%	27%			
N=69	20	30	19			
men	52%	28%	19%			
N=113	59	32	22			
Place of Education	India	Pakistan	Africa	Iran	other	born Europe
women N=190						
primary	50%	6%	24%	2%	2%	14%
	32	4	15	1	1	9
secondary	55%	6%	23%			19%
	35	4	13			12
further	44%	6%	5%			25%
	28	4	3			16
under-graduate	22%	5%				16%
	14	3				10
post-graduate	11%	2%				11%
	7	1				7
men N=44						
primary	57%	4%	28%		2%	18%
	25	2	8		1	8
secondary	54%	2%	18%			23%
	24	1	8			10
further	43%	4%	4%			29%
	19	2	2			13
under-graduate	20%	2%				27%
	9	1				12
post-graduate	9%	2%				23%
	4	1				10
women N=69						
primary	45%	1%	11%	3%	4%	35%
	31	1	8	2	3	24
secondary	45%	1%	8%	3%	3%	36%
	31	1	6	2	2	25
further	36%	1%		1%	1%	39%

TABLE 7 DEMOGRAPHY: WOMEN AND MEN WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL SIX PURITY LAW QUESTIONS						
	25	1		1	1	27
under-graduate	30%			1%	1%	27%
	21			1	1	19
post-graduate	10%				1%	30%
	7				1	21
men N=113						
primary	47%	9%	12%	4%	3%	23%
	63	10	14	5	3	26
secondary	43%	9%	10%	4%		32%
	49	10	11	5		36
further	31%	5%	2%	3%		35%
	35	6	2	3		40
under-graduate	23%	4%		1%		45%
	26	5		1		51
post-graduate	10%	1%				40%
	11	1				45
Level of Education	primary	seconda ry	further	under-graduate	post-graduate	
women		19%	34%	23%	23%	
N=64		12	22	15	15	
men		16%	29%	20%	34%	
N=44		7	13	9	15	
women	1%	7%	26%	22%	43%	
N=69	1	5	18	15	30	
men		6%	16%	23%	55%	
N=113		7	18	26	62	
Type of Education	liberal arts	scienc e	both	other		
Women	28%	9%	23%	23%		
N=64	18	6	15	15		
Men	9%	29%	14%	39%		
N=44	4	13	6	17		
Women	32%	20%	22%	22%		
N=69	22	14	15	15		
Men	12%	49%	23%	12%		
N=113	14	55	26	14		

TABLE 7 DEMOGRAPHY: WOMEN AND MEN WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL SIX PURITY LAW QUESTIONS						
Respondent's Occupation	home-maker / farmer / forces	retired	blue-collar	white-collar	business	professional
Women	9%	31%	8%	25%	14%	12%
N=64	6	21	5	16	9	8
men		48%	9%	4%	9%	29%
N=44		21	4	2	4	13
Women	12%	12%	6%	23%	17%	30%
N=69	8	8	4	16	12	21
Men	2%	19%	8%	7%	11%	53%
N=113	2	21	9	8	12	60
Father's Occupation	farmer / forces	retired	blue-collar	white-collar	business	professional
Women	5%		12%	28%	20%	25%
N=64	3		8	18	13	16
Men	9%		14%	43%	11%	18%
N=44	4		6	19	5	8
women	3%		4%	17%	26%	48%
N=69	2		3	12	18	33
Men	4%	1%	8%	27%	24%	35%
N=113	4	1	9	31	27	40
Mother's Occupation	home-maker	retired	blue-collar	white-collar	business	professional
Women	61%		9%	4%	9%	9%
N=64	39		2%	11%	11%	2%
Men	70%		2%	7%	11%	2%
N=44	31		1	3	5	1
Women	51%		1%	16%	20%	9%
N=69	35		1	11	14	6
Men	58%		2%	13%	8%	8%
N=113	66		2	15	9	9

The discussion will compare the four groups: the 'affirming' group of women, 64, the 'rejecting' group of women, 69, the 'affirming' group of men, 44 and the 'rejecting' group of men, 113.

The women: 'affirming' or 'rejecting' the six purity laws groups

Although there is a numerical similarity between the groups of women, 64 affirmed and 69 rejected all six purity laws, there are marked differences in their demographic profiles as was demonstrated in table 7. A third of the group of women who rejected all six purity laws were born in Europe compared with a tenth in the group who affirmed them, and in addition, 23, 33%, of those who rejected them, had come to Europe as small children. Those who had rejected all six purity laws had a much younger age profile than the 'affirming' group. In the group of women who affirmed all six purity laws, 33, 51%, are over the age of 60 years, with 18, 28%, who came from Africa and 8, 12%, from Europe. Of the respondents who had ever been married 20, 35%, of the 'rejecting' group had married non-Zoroastrians compared with 7, 15%, for the 'affirming' group. There was little difference in percentage terms between the family types of the two groups in attitudes to the six purity laws, although the 'rejecting' group had more women 51, 74%, from extended families than the 'affirming' group 44, 69%. The data from 1985 suggest that the members of the nuclear families, especially those with young children, would support the six purity laws at a higher percentage level than the members of extended families. Here there was no difference in terms of numbers, 12, between the women from nuclear families who affirmed or rejected the six purity laws. Only a third of the women in the nuclear families in the 'affirming' group had children under 18 years of age and a quarter of the women in the 'rejecting' group.

The women who affirmed had a higher percentage of respondents who lived in Greater London, 75%, 48, compared with 32%, 28, for the 'rejecting' group of women. London has the only Zoroastrian prayer room in Europe and the women who lived in the Greater

London area could travel easily to the prayer room and keep contact with other Zoroastrians and the religious traditions. More women from urban/ rural areas affirmed the six purity laws than rejected them. However, the women respondents from a metropolitan ~~environment~~,environment affirmed the six purity laws at higher percentage levels than rejecting levels. The women whether they came before 1970 or after 1970 supported all six purity laws higher percentage levels than rejecting levels. It would be expected from the 1985 data set that the women from a metropolitan environment or came before 1970 would reject all six purity laws at a higher levels than affirming levels. Clearly this is not the case with the women in the 2003 survey.

In terms of education, the 'rejecting' group had a higher percentage of postgraduates, who had studied in Europe: it was found in the earlier surveys of 1976 and 1985 that postgraduate education in Europe was associated with less support for the religious values than people who had had postgraduate education abroad. More science educated respondents were in the 'rejecting'

¹ Boyce M., *op cit*, *A History of Zoroastrianism, volume 1*, p. 309

² -----, *op cit*, *Zoroastrians Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*, p. 100

³ -----, *ibid*

⁴ Choksy J.K., *op cit*, *Purity and Pollution in Zoroastrianism*, p.78
-p103

⁵ -----, *ibid* p.78

⁶ -----, *op cit*, p. 308

⁷ Darmesteter J., translator, *op cit*, *Zend-Avesta Part 1, the Vendîdâd Sacred Book of the East*, volume VI, pp. 60 & 86

group 14, 20%, than in the 'affirming' group 6, 9%, and again, in the 1985 survey, it was found that respondents with a scientific education gave less support for the religious values than respondents with other types of education. Similarly, the 'rejecting' group had a higher percentage of professional and business people than the 'affirming' group. This was also reflected in the occupations of respondents' parents, with the 'rejecting' group having higher percentages of professional fathers and mothers than the 'affirming' group.

The men: 'affirming' or 'rejecting' the six purity laws groups

There is a large difference numerically between the groups of men, 44 affirmed and 113 rejected all six purity laws, and there are marked differences in their demographic profiles as demonstrated in table 7. A fifth of the group who rejected were born in Europe compared with a sixth of the group who affirmed and in addition, 32, (28%) of those who rejected, had come to Europe as small children.

The 'rejecting' group of men did not have a much younger age profile than the 'affirming' group as was found for the women. Of the male respondents who had ever been married 46, 48%, of the 'rejecting' group had married non-Zoroastrians compared with 2, 4%, for the 'affirming' group. More men came from nuclear families in the 'rejecting' group 15% 17, than in the 'affirming' group 9%, 4. In the 'affirming' group of men from nuclear families, none had children under 18 years of age and in the 'rejecting' group a quarter had children under 18 years of age.

A higher percentage of men from the urban/ rural areas, affirmed the six purity laws rather than rejecting them and more men from a metropolitan environment rejected the six purity laws than affirmed them. The men who had arrived before 1970 supported all six purity laws at a higher percentage levels than rejecting

levels. From the 1985 data it was expected that the respondents who came before 1970 would reject all six purity laws at higher levels than affirming. Clearly this is not the case with the 2003 male respondents. The men who lived in the Greater London area affirmed the six purity laws at a much higher rate 70%, 31, than the men who lived outside this area 27%, 12. Conversely the men who lived out of the Greater London area rejected the six purity laws at a much higher rate 57%, 64, than the men who lived in this area 42%, 47.

In terms of education, the 'rejecting' group had a higher percentage of postgraduates, who had studied in Europe, 40%, 45, compared with the 'affirming' group, 23%, 10 men. The respondent's scientific education levels were higher in the 'rejecting' group 49%, 55, than in the 'affirming' group 29%, 13. Similarly, the 'rejecting' group of men had a higher percentage of professional people, nearly twice as many in percentage terms, than the 'affirming' group. This was also reflected in the occupations of respondents' parents, with the 'rejecting' group of men having higher percentages of professional fathers and mothers than the 'affirming' group.

This is the general pattern, in terms of the demographic attributes of the women and the men respondents, that is followed to a greater or lesser extent in the analysis of the individual questions on the purity laws. Tables 3-8, in Appendix D, detail the responses of the men and women to the individual questions about the six purity laws.

SUMMARY OF THE INTER-GROUP ANALYSES

The validity of the bench marks from the 1976 and 1985 data sets and analyses were generally confirmed in the analyses of the women's and men's attitudes to affirming or rejecting all six purity

laws. However, there were some exceptions to this, namely: the members of nuclear families did not support the six purity laws at a higher level than the respondents from extended families; the women from a metropolitan environment affirmed at higher levels than rejecting levels; the men who arrived in Europe before 1970 affirmed at higher percentage levels than rejecting levels whereas the women, whether they arrived before 1970 or after 1970, affirmed at higher percentage levels than rejecting levels.

There are demographic similarities between the women and the men and their attitudes to the six purity laws. There are more similarities than differences between the women and the men. The two most important differences are that the women were roughly equal in their numbers in terms of affirming or rejecting all six purity laws, whereas two and half times more men rejected all six purity laws than affirmed them. There was little difference in the age profile of the men who affirmed all six purity laws and the men who rejected all six purity laws whereas for the women the age profile of the 'rejecting' group was much younger than that of the 'affirming' group. Thus, age for women is an important factor in relation to their attitudes to the six purity laws, whereas for the men the important factor was that more than twice as many men rejected all six purity laws than affirmed all of them. The similarities and differences have been listed in table 8 because it is easier read them in a table rather than in a long explanatory text. Each similarity or difference is annotated with expected or unexpected, indicating that the result would be expected, E, from the bench marks from the previous surveys, or unexpected, U.

TABLE 8
THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN WOMEN'S AND MEN'S
ATTITUDES TO AFFIRMING/ REJECTING ALL SIX PURITY
LAWS

SIMILARITIES	Bench marks
1. Both groups of women and men had more people in the 'rejecting' groups who were born in Europe or came to Europe as young children than in the 'affirming' groups	E
2. More respondents who had married or had non-Zoroastrian partners rejected the purity laws rather than affirm them.	E
3. Both groups of men and women respondents from the urban/ rural areas affirmed the six purity laws rather than rejected them.	E
4. Women and men who lived in the Greater London area of South East England affirmed the six purity laws at a higher percentage level than the people who lived outside this area.	E
5. In terms of education, the 'rejecting' groups of women and men had a higher percentage of postgraduates, who had studied in Europe.	E
6. Scientific education levels were higher in the 'rejecting' groups than in the 'affirming' groups.	E
7. The "rejecting' groups' had a higher percentage of professional and business people than the 'affirming' groups.	E
8. The occupations of respondents' parents, with the 'rejecting' group having higher percentages of professional fathers and mothers than the 'affirming' group.	E

TABLE 9 THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WOMEN'S AND MEN'S ATTITUDES TO AFFIRMING/ REJECTING ALL SIX PURITY LAWS	
DIFFERENCES	Bench Markers
1. The numbers for the two groups of women, 'affirming'/ 'rejecting', was roughly equal but for the men the "rejecting" group was two and half times as large as the 'affirming' group.	U
2. There was little difference in the ages of the men who affirmed and the men who rejected the six purity laws but for the women the age profile of the 'rejecting' group was much younger than that of the 'affirming' group.	U
3. The women from nuclear families were equally divided, numerically, in their support and rejection of the six purity laws but for the men there were more respondents from nuclear families in the 'rejecting' group than in the 'affirming' group.	U
4. The women from the metropolitan areas had higher percentage affirmation and rejection than the women from the urban/ rural areas whereas the men had a higher percentage of men from the urban/ rural areas affirming the six purity laws than rejecting them.	U
5. The men who had arrived before 1970 supported all six purity laws at a higher percentage levels than rejecting levels. The women whether they came before 1970 or after 1970 both groups supported all six purity laws higher percentage levels than rejecting levels.	U

Only one person from Iran, a woman, affirmed all six purity laws, but three Iranian woman and eight Iranian men rejected all six purity laws. On the whole, Iranian Zoroastrians as a group tend to reject the six purity laws, but some of them support individual purity laws as can be seen in the tables 3-8, in Appendix D. More Iranian Zoroastrians reject the six purity laws than affirm them.

Although the numbers are low, only 24 Iranian Zoroastrians in the total group of 603, they are important because they represent the branch of Zoroastrianism from Iran and as has been noted they have different attitudes towards Zoroastrianism compared with the Parsis.

FURTHER ANALYSES

In the inter-group analyses above, the data was analysed by looking at the men and women as one group (table 4), or the men and women as distinct groups, (tables 6 and 7). This next section gives an intra-group analysis, with responses of all the women and all the men respondents compared under sub-groups, such as age, as shown below in table 9a. The analyses are of the respondent's replies to the individual questions about the six purity laws. A respondent might only affirm one of the six purity laws. Note that the ranking is determined from the percentage of respondents from the sub-group who affirm/ reject the individual purity law. The phrase 'range of percentage affirmation' will be used and it refers to all the affirmation responses to the six purity laws from the highest to the lowest. Similarly, the phrase 'range of percentage rejection' will refer to all the rejection responses to the six purity laws from lowest to highest. The change in the rankings, however small, will be noted and it will show that the women consistently change the rankings more than the men do.

Age and Affirmation/ Rejection of the six purity laws

Table 9a demonstrates that the women of the age group 60-69 years had the highest percentage of affirming responses to all the questions, whereas the under 30 years had the lowest percentage of affirming responses to all the questions. Conversely the under age 30 years had the highest percentage of rejecting responses to all the questions. The under 30 years group puts 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans' at the top of their list with

'Menstruating women should avoid the Favardigan/ Mukta ceremonies' placed third. Ninety-one percent of the under thirties age group was born in or came to Europe as young children. Overall, the ranking for the other age groups follows the standard ranking except for the inversion of prayer and childbirth rituals, but the percentage differences are small.

TABLE 9a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Mukta Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Age in year groups total group affirm reject	298	64% 31%	63% 31%	60% 34%	58% 37%	35% 58%	38% 54%
70+ N=	56	64% 36	62% 35	62% 35	61% 34	42% 23	41% 23
60-69 N=	76	80% 61	72% 55	70% 53	71% 54	41% 31	43% 32
50-59 N=	56	60% 33	61% 34	55% 31	50% 28	27% 15	38% 21
40-49 N=	44	59% 26	59% 26	48% 21	54% 24	27% 11	29% 13
30-39 N=	44	61% 27	64% 28	61% 27	57% 25	34% 15	39% 17
9-29 N=	21	38% 8	48% 10	52% 11	35% 7	33% 6	24% 5
70+ N=	56	27% 15	27% 15	27% 15	30% 17	50% 28	41% 23
60-69 N=	76	14% 11	21% 16	22% 17	22% 17	47% 36	49% 37
50-59 N=	56	36% 20	36% 20	39% 22	45% 25	68% 38	57% 32
40-49 N=	44	34% 15	32% 14	43% 19	39% 17	64% 28	61% 27
30-39 N=	44	36% 16	34% 15	36% 16	41% 18	61% 27	57% 25
9-29 N=	21	62% 13	52% 11	48% 10	67% 14	67% 14	76% 16

Table 9b demonstrates that for men, the age group 30-39 years had the highest percentage of affirming responses to all the questions, whereas the under 30 years had the lowest percentage of affirming responses to all the questions. The age group 40-49 years has the second highest percentage support for the six purity laws. The less than 30 years group puts 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' and 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' as equal first. Ninety-five percent of the under thirties age group was born in or came to Europe as young children. All the age groups change the rankings except for the 30-39 years age group, but the percentage differences and numbers are small.

TABLE 9b MEN							
type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardig an/ Muktad Ceremon ies	Prayer Room	Jashan s	Priest	Child Birth Ritual s	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Age in year groups	292	47%	46%	42%	41%	31%	26%
total group affirm		47%	48%	53%	52%	62%	66%
reject							
70+ N=	83	45% 54	49% 41	49% 41	47% 39	36% 30	30% 25
60-69 N=	67	51% 34	54% 36	48% 32	46% 31	39% 26	34% 23
50-59 N=	54	31% 17	30% 16	20% 11	22% 12	11% 6	38% 21

TABLE 9b MEN							
40-49 N=	37	57% 21	57% 21	51% 19	54% 20	40% 15	13% 7
30-39 N=	28	64% 18	57% 16	61% 17	50% 14	39% 11	35% 13
9-29 N=	23	13% 3	17% 4	13% 3	17% 4	13% 3	9% 2
70+ N=	83	41% 34	43% 36	43% 36	45% 37	57% 47	61% 51
60-69 N=	67	42% 28	39% 26	46% 31	43% 29	52% 35	58% 39
50-59 N=	54	67% 36	68% 37	78% 42	74% 40	87% 47	81% 44
40-49 N=	37	40% 15	40% 15	43% 16	46% 17	57% 21	59% 22
30-39 N=	28	29% 8	36% 10	32% 9	43% 12	54% 14	71% 20
9-29 N=	23	74% 17	69% 16	74% 17	69% 16	65% 15	78% 18

It was expected, from the 1976 and 1985 research, that the older the person the more likely they would be to follow the six purity laws. However, in 2003, the 30-39 years group for both men and women have a high percentage of affirming responses for all the six purity laws. For both the women and the men in the 30-39 years age group, who affirmed at least one of the six purity laws, 43% and 42% respectively had children under 18 years of age, and for the women and the men who rejected at least one purity laws, 46% of the women and 41% of the men had children under 18 years of age. The less than 30 years for both men and women has the highest percentage rejection of the six purity laws. Forty-five percent, 11, of the women and 71%, 15, of the men in the 30-39 years age group were born in Europe. The 30-39 years age group affirmation of the six purity laws is an unexpected result because the 1976 and 1985 data suggests that birth in Europe was associated with less support for the religious beliefs and practices. However, in the analyses of the women who either affirmed or

rejected all six purity laws, it was found that the age group 30-39 years had an equal percentage of respondents in both the 'affirming' and 'rejecting' groups and an equal number of respondents, 11 and 12 women respectively.

Of the group of thirty women of the age group 30-39 years, who affirmed at least one of the six purity laws 37%, 11, were born in Europe, and 30%, 9 of the 30 women came in the 1990s and 2000s; they came to Europe as adults. For the 28 men of the age group 30-39 years 57%, 16, were born in Europe and 7, 25%, came to Europe as adults. The data shows that the majority of these women have not changed their religious beliefs since coming to Europe, but the majority of the men had changed their religious beliefs. Eleven of the women came from nuclear families but only five of the men did so. Nine women, 33%, 10, were single and 25%, 8, of the men were single. Of those women who were married, five were married to non-Zoroastrians as were eight the men who were married. Fifteen women, 50%, had reached postgraduate level of education and 21, 75%, men had done so. Seven of the thirty women, 23%, had had a scientific education compared with 17, 61%, of the men. Only eight of the women had professional occupations, although 15 had postgraduate level education. 14 of the men had professional occupations, although 21 had had postgraduate education. For some of the women and men in this age group, their educational attainments do not match their occupational status. Half of their fathers, for both for the men and the women, were in professional occupations, but only three of the mothers of the women and five of the mothers of the men were in professional occupations. Thirteen of the mothers of the women and six of the men's were homemakers. The fact that a woman respondent's mother had a paid occupation outside the home, especially if it is a professional occupation, seems to have

an impact on the women's attitudes towards the six purity laws but it does not impact on the men's attitudes towards them.

Thus, some of those women and men in the 30-39 years age group who affirmed at least one of the six purity laws came to Europe as adults from India. Of the women who were born in Europe, all had their parents living in Europe and some had children or extended family in Europe. Three of the men did not have any relatives at all in Europe. Eleven women and five of the men were from nuclear families and as has been noted the research data from 1985 survey, it was found that the nuclear families affirmed the religious beliefs and values more than the extended families.

Both the women and the men in the 50-59 years age group had the lowest affirmation of the six purity laws apart from the women who were under 30 years of age. The 50-59 years age group women had a percentage rejection rate about the same level as the 30-39 years age group, but for the men in this age group, 50-59 years, it was higher than the under 30 years age group. Thirty one percent, 16, of these women from the 50-59 years age group who were married, were married to non-Zoroastrians and 33%, 16 of the men from this age group, were married to non-Zoroastrians. Twenty seven percent, 15, women of the 50-59 years age group had postgraduate level education with 20%, 11, women, in professional occupations and 48%, 26, men in this age group had postgraduate level education, but with 52%, 28, men had professional level occupations. Only five women, 9%, from the 50-59 years age group were homemakers. From the 1976 and 1985 data it was found that women who worked outside the home showed less support for the religious values that the women who were homemakers. On the whole, for this age group, 50-59 years, of women and certainly for the men, their occupational status matched their educational levels.

Marital Status and Affirmation/ Rejection of the six purity laws

There is little percentage difference between the single or married women and men and their attitudes to the six purity laws. However, the single women rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' first, 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' and 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans' equal second and 'Menstruating women should avoid the Favardigan/ Muktrad ceremonies' fourth. The single women significantly change the rankings, whereas the married women only change the ranking of 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' to fifth. Ranking 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth seems to be norm for the women. The single men rank 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans' higher than 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' but the percentage difference between the rankings of the six purity laws by both the single women and the single men is small.

TABLE 10a WOMEN							
type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktrad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Marital Status	298						
total group		64%	63%	60%	58%	35%	38%
affirm		30%	31%	34%	37%	58%	54%
reject							
single		63%	70%	65%	65%	35%	28%
N=	54	34	38	35	35	19	15
married		64%	61%	59%	56%	35%	40%
N=	244	156	150	143	137	85	97
Single		35%	26%	31%	33%	61%	68%
N=	54	19	14	17	18	33	37

TABLE 10a WOMEN							
Married N=	244	29% 72	32% 78	34% 83	37% 91	57% 139	51% 124

TABLE 10b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Marital Status	293						
total group		47%	46%	42%	41%	31%	26%
affirm		47%	48%	52%	52%	62%	67%
reject							
single		46%	42%	46%	38%	31%	19%
N=	52	24	22	24	20	16	10
married		47%	46%	41%	41%	31%	27%
N=	241	114	112	99	100	75	66
Single		48%	50%	48%	54%	60%	71%
N=	54	25	26	25	28	31	37
Married		47%	48%	53%	51%	62%	66%
N=	244	114	115	127	124	150	158

Marital Partner and Affirmation/ Rejection of the six purity laws

Those women with non-Zoroastrian partners affirm the six purity laws at a lower percentage level than those women with Zoroastrian partners. Both types of married respondents affirm or reject the six purity laws in the order of their ranking, except that married women rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth. The men with non-Zoroastrian partners affirm the six purity laws at a much lower percentage level than the men with Zoroastrian partners. The men with non-Zoroastrian partners rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' first. The

research data from 1976 and 1985 suggest that people who have married out of the community affirm less support for the religious beliefs and practices than those who have married Zoroastrians. Women, who have married out of the community, are regarded by some members of the community as no longer being Zoroastrian and they can experience hostility from these people. In spite of this, some of these women continue to support the six purity laws. Twenty-seven women who had married non-Zoroastrians supported at least one of the six purity laws and 71 men who had non-Zoroastrian partners did so. More than half these 27 women were born in India and nearly a quarter were born in Europe, whereas for the men, less than half the 71 men were from India, with 20%, 15, born in Europe and 7%, 5, born in Iran. All but one of the women, who came from India, came to Europe in adulthood. Thirteen men came to Europe as small children and 43 came as adults. Two thirds of the 27 women who had married non-Zoroastrians stated that their religious beliefs had not changed since coming to Europe and three quarters of them had attended religious classes as a child. Only 38%, 34, of the 71 men who had married non-Zoroastrians affirmed that their religious beliefs had changed since coming to Europe and 51%, 37, had attended religious classes as a child. Of the seven women who had married out but who supported all the six purity laws, six were born in the sub-continent and one was born in Europe. Only two men who had married non-Zoroastrians supported all six of the purity laws, of whom one was born in Pakistan and one in Europe. Once again, coming to Europe as an adult rather than in childhood seems to be a dominant factor in determining attitudes to the six purity laws.

TABLE 11a WOMEN		
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws

TABLE 11a WOMEN							
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Marital Partner total group affirm reject	244	64% 29%	61% 32%	59% 34%	56% 37%	35% 57%	40% 51%
Zoroastrian N=	190	68% 130	66% 125	63% 119	60% 114	37% 71	44% 83
non-Zoroastrian N=	51	47% 24	45% 23	43% 22	41% 21	25% 13	23% 12
Zoroastrian N=	190	25% 47	27% 52	29% 56	33% 63	55% 104	47% 89
non-Zoroastrian N=	51	47% 24	49% 25	51% 62	53% 27	65% 33	67% 34

TABLE 11b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Marital Partner total group affirm reject	241	47% 47%	46% 48%	41% 53%	41% 51%	31% 62%	27% 66%
Zoroastrian N=	168	58% 98	56% 90	51% 86	53% 89	39% 65	36% 61
non-Zoroastrian N=	71	22% 16	25% 18	18% 13	15% 11	14% 10	7% 5
Zoroastrian N=	168	36% 61	37% 62	42% 71	39% 65	56% 94	55% 93

TABLE 11b MEN							
non-Zoroastrian N=	71	72% 51	72% 51	76% 54	80% 57	76% 54	89% 63

Type of Family and Affirmation/ Rejection of the six purity laws

Those women from a nuclear family had an average seven percentage points higher support for the six purity laws over those from an extended family. The largest difference was in attitudes to 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' and was 12%. The men's attitudes to the six purity laws were different by an average three percentage points, those from an extended family having the higher average percentage affirmation of the purity laws. The women members of nuclear families rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' second and 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' fourth. Both types of family reverse 'Menstruating women should avoid of prayer' with 'Women should observe the childbirth rituals'. The men in the nuclear families rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' third. The differences for the women, between the types of family is what would be expected from the 1985 research, with members of nuclear families affirming the six purity laws at a higher percentage level than the members of extended families. The differences between the two family types for the men, is not what would be expected from the 1985 research. However, the percentage differences and numbers are very small, sometimes by only 1 respondent.

TABLE 12a WOMEN		
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws

TABLE 12a WOMEN							
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Type of family	260						
total group		64%	64%	59%	54%	38%	34%
affirm		32%	31%	35%	38%	56%	59%
reject							
nuclear	N= 48	69%	44%	65%	67%	40%	42%
		33	20	31	32	19	20
extended	N= 212	63%	47%	58%	55%	32%	37%
		133	97	123	117	69	78
nuclear	N= 48	31%	33%	35%	33%	60%	58%
		15	16	17	16	29	28
extended	N= 212	32%	31%	35%	39%	59%	56%
		68	66	75	83	125	118

TABLE 12b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Type of family	253						
total group		48%	46%	44%	42%	32%	25%
affirm		47%	49%	51%	50%	62%	67%
reject							
nuclear	N= 45	44%	44%	40%	44%	36%	18%
		20	20	18	20	16	8
extended	N= 208	49%	47%	45%	42%	31%	27%
		102	97	93	87	64	56
nuclear	N= 45	53%	53%	56%	49%	58%	78%
		24	24	25	22	26	35
extended	N= 208	45%	47%	49%	50%	62%	65%
		94	97	103	105	130	135

Children under 18 years of Age and Affirmation/ rejection of the six purity laws

Sixty two women, 21% of the women, had children less than 18 years of age whereas only 47 men, 16% of the men, had children less than 18 years of age. These women supported the six purity laws at a lower percentage rate than the women who did not have children of this age or the 'no response' group, but the men with the children under 18 years of age supported the six purity laws at the highest rate of the three groups of men. Two of the groups of women ranked 'Women should observe of child birth rituals' sixth, which goes against the rankings for the total group of 603, but corresponds with the way the women as a group ranked the purity laws. The men with the under 18 years children, ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' and 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans' equal first and the 'no response' group of men ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans' second. However, the differences are small in the change in the rankings and involve only one or two respondents. Twenty one percent of the women, 11, were married to non-Zoroastrians and 39% had postgraduate level education and 28 women, 45%, were in business or professional occupations. Thirty four percent, 21 women did not live in the Greater London area. These seem likely explanations for the low support of the six purity laws by these women with young children, but when the men are analysed it is found that they have a similar demographic profile as the women: twenty one percent of the men, 10, had non-Zoroastrian partners and 62%, 29, had postgraduate education with 51%, 24, professional or business occupations. Forty five percent, 21, men did not live in the Greater London area. The data from the 1985 research suggests that Zoroastrians with young children are more likely to support the religious values than people without young children. Clearly it is the case for the men and their attitudes to the six purity laws, but it is not the case for the women.

TABLE 13a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Children under 18 Years total group affirm reject	298	65% 29%	62% 32%	60% 35%	56% 38%	35% 57%	39% 51%
children under 18 years N=	62	55% 34	53% 33	52% 32	48% 30	26% 16	31% 19
no children under 18 years N=	141	70% 98	65% 92	64% 90	59% 83	38% 54	43% 61
no response N=	95	61% 58	66% 63	59% 56	62% 59	36% 34	34% 32
children under 18 years N=	62	39% 24	40% 25	42% 26	47% 29	69% 43	63% 39
no children under 18 years N=	141	25% 35	34% 48	29% 41	34% 48	52% 73	46% 65
no response N=	95	34% 32	28% 27	35% 33	34% 32	59% 56	60% 57

TABLE 13b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6

TABLE 13b MEN							
Children under 18 Years total group affirm reject	293	47% 47%	46% 48%	42% 52%	41% 52%	31% 62%	26% 67%
children under 18 years N=	47	53% 25	55% 26	49% 23	55% 26	30% 14	36% 17
no children under 18 years N=	154	47% 73	47% 73	41% 63	40% 61	33% 51	27% 42
no response N=	92	43% 40	38% 35	40% 37	36% 33	28% 26	18% 17
children under 18 years N=	47	43% 20	40% 19	44% 21	40% 19	66% 31	60% 28
no children under 18 years N=	154	47% 72	46% 71	53% 81	52% 80	61% 94	65% 100
no response N=	92	51% 47	55% 51	54% 50	58% 53	61% 56	73% 67

Place Live now and Affirmation/ Rejection of the six purity laws

There are many more Zoroastrians living in Greater London area than in any other area of Europe. The women and the men who live in the Greater London area of Europe affirm the six purity laws at a higher percentage level than the women and the men who live at a non-commuting distance from the Zoroastrian prayer room. In the 1985 survey it was found that the people who lived in the greater London area supported the religious practices and beliefs of Zoroastrianism at a higher level than the respondents who lived outside the greater London area. Also, the respondents who lived in the greater London area gave less support for changing the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism than did the respondent who did not live in the Greater London area. Thus, the response from the people who lived in the Greater London area is

in line with what was expected from the 1985 research data. The women in the Greater London area virtually rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the Favardigan/Muktad ceremonies' and 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' equal first and 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans' and 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' equal third with 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' fifth. The men from the Greater London area do not change the rankings of the purity laws. The women and the men who do not live in the Greater London area do not change the rankings of the purity laws.

TABLE 14a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Greater London/ Other places total group affirm reject	287	62% 38%	64% 31%	60% 34%	58% 37%	36% 57%	38% 55%
Greater London N=	178	72% 129	73% 130	68% 122	68% 121	43% 76	46% 82
other places N=	109	51% 56	49% 53	46% 50	43% 47	25% 27	24% 26
Greater London N=	178	24% 43	24% 42	27% 48	29% 52	53% 95	48% 85
other places N=	109	41% 45	43% 47	46% 50	49% 53	64% 70	66% 72

TABLE 14b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					

TABLE 14b MEN							
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Greater London/ Other places total group affirm reject	287	47% 48%	46% 48%	42% 52%	41% 52%	31% 62%	26% 67%
Greater London N=	163	54% 88	55% 89	49% 80	49% 80	39% 63	32% 53
other places N=	124	37% 46	35% 43	32% 40	30% 37	22% 27	17% 21
Greater London N=	163	41% 67	40% 65	45% 74	44% 71	55% 90	59% 96
other places N=	124	56% 70	59% 73	60% 75	64% 79	70% 87	77% 96

Country before Europe and Affirmation/ Rejection of the six purity laws

Table 15a shows that more women, in percentage terms, who came from Iran rejected the six purity laws than the women from India, Pakistan and Africa. Although only eight in number, they are consistent in rejecting the six purity laws and as there are so few Iranian Zoroastrian respondents in the survey it is important to note when they have responses that are consistent with each other and different from the Parsis. Similarly the majority of the men from Iran reject the six purity laws but the Pakistani men have an even higher percentage rejection. The numbers of respondents from Pakistan are small and the results must be viewed with caution although the results seem to be consistent throughout the analyses: Pakistani men reject the six purity laws and Pakistani women support them. The women respondents from Africa and Pakistan gave the highest percentage support for all the six purity

laws followed closely by those from India, whereas for the men, the respondents from Africa and India gave highest support for the six purity laws. There is some slight variation in the rankings for the women but the numbers involved are so small, except for the women who were born in Europe who affirmed 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans' in first place. The men vary the rankings of the six purity laws but again, the numbers involved are so small. The European born men, unlike the European born women, do not rank 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans' in first place.

TABLE 15a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Mukhtad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Country before Europe total group affirm reject	298	64% 30%	63% 31%	60% 34%	58% 37%	35% 58%	38% 54%
India N=	149	70% 104	65% 97	62% 92	64% 95	40% 59	42% 62
Pakistan N=	14	79% 11	79% 11	64% 9	71% 10	50% 7	43% 6
Africa N=	57	79% 45	80% 45	75% 42	65% 37	49% 28	47% 26
Iran N=	8	25% 2	37% 3	37% 3	37% 3	12% 1	25% 2
other N=	9	56% 5	56% 5	56% 5	44% 4	11% 1	22% 2
Europe N=	61	36% 22	43% 26	62% 38	36% 22	25% 15	21% 13
India N=	149	25% 38	30% 45	31% 47	32% 48	61% 91	51% 76

TABLE 15a WOMEN								
Pakistan	N=	14	14% 2	14% 2	29% 4	21% 3	50% 7	43% 6
Africa	N=	57	17% 10	16% 9	21% 12	32% 18	46% 26	47% 27
Iran	N=	8	75% 6	62% 5	62% 5	62% 5	75% 6	75% 6
other	N=	9	44% 4	44% 4	44% 4	56% 5	89% 8	78% 7
Europe	N=	61	51% 31	44% 27	46% 28	49% 30	58% 34	64% 39

TABLE 15b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priests	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Country before Europe total group affirm reject	293	47% 47%	46% 48%	42% 52%	41% 52%	31% 62%	26% 67%
India	N= 148	52% 77	48% 71	46% 68	50% 74	35% 52	29% 43
Pakistan	N= 18	28% 5	28% 5	17% 3	22% 4	22% 4	17% 3
Africa	N= 49	59% 29	63% 31	55% 27	43% 21	35% 17	31% 15
Iran	N= 17	29% 5	41% 7	29% 5	29% 5	18% 3	23% 4
other	N= 6	33% 2	33% 2	33% 2	17% 1	17% 1	17% 1
Europe	N= 55	36% 20	33% 18	33% 18	27% 15	25% 14	18% 10
India	N= 148	45% 66	47% 69	49% 73	45% 66	60% 89	65% 97
Pakistan	N= 18	61% 11	61% 11	72% 13	67% 12	61% 11	72% 13
Africa	N= 49	39% 19	33% 16	43% 21	49% 24	61% 30	59% 29

TABLE 15b MEN								
Iran	N=	17	65%	59%	65%	71%	82%	76%
			11	10	11	12	14	13
other	N=	6	67%	67%	67%	83%	83%	83%
			4	4	4	5	5	5
Europe	N=	55	51%	56%	54%	60%	58%	69%
			28	31	30	33	32	38

Metropolitan or Urban/ Rural Environment and Affirmation/ Rejection of the six purity laws

Metropolitan refers to the people who came from the metropolitan environments such as Bombay/ Mumbai, Karachi or Tehran, whereas urban/ rural refers to the people who came from towns or the countryside. The women respondents who came from an urban or rural environment have a higher percentage of affirming responses for all six purity laws except for 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' and 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer'. For these two purity laws, the women who were from a metropolitan environment affirm at a higher percentage than the women from an urban/ rural environment. The men from the metropolitan environment support the six purity laws at lower percentage levels than the men from the urban/ rural environment. In terms of ranking, the women and the men from the metropolitan environment rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' third. The women respondents from the urban or rural environment rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth. The research data from the 1985 survey suggested that fewer people from a metropolitan environment support for religious beliefs and practices than people from an urban or rural environment. Clearly, this is happening with the attitudes of the men respondents from metropolitan environments to the six purity laws, and the women respondents from the metropolitan environments to four of the six purity laws in the 2003 survey.

TABLE 16a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Metropolitan/ Urban or Rural total group affirm reject	223	71% 26%	69% 27%	65% 31%	65% 33%	39% 57%	43% 51%
metropolitan N=	139	70% 97	66% 92	61% 91	66% 92	57% 52	42% 58
urban/ rural N=	84	74% 62	74% 62	70% 59	62% 52	41% 35	45% 38
metropolitan N=	139	26% 36	29% 41	33% 46	31% 43	59% 82	51% 71
urban/ rural N=	84	25% 21	24% 20	27% 23	36% 30	54% 45	50% 42

TABLE 16b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Metropolitan/ Urban or Rural total group affirm reject	222	49% 46%	49% 46%	44% 51%	44% 50%	33% 62%	28% 65%
metropolitan N=	145	44% 64	44% 64	38% 55	43% 63	31% 45	27% 39
urban/ rural N=	77	60% 46	57% 44	56% 43	44% 34	36% 28	31% 24
metropolitan N=	145	52% 75	50% 73	57% 82	52% 76	63% 92	68% 98
urban/ rural N=	77	36% 28	38% 29	40% 31	47% 36	58% 45	60% 46

Decade of Arrival in Europe

The women and men respondents who were born in Europe show the lowest percentage affirmation of the six purity laws, followed by the respondents who came to Europe before the 1960s. The women respondents who came in the 1960s have highest percentage affirmation of the six purity laws followed by the respondents who came in the 1970-2000s and for the men the respondents who came in the 1970s- 2000s have highest percentage affirmation of the six purity laws followed by the respondents who came in the 1960s. The women respondents who came to Europe before 1960 do not change any of the rankings of the six purity laws and they are the only group of women not to do so. However, the numbers involved are very small. Similarly, the men from the three groups, arrival before 1960, arrival 1960s and arrival 1970s, change the rankings but the number differences involved are only one or two. The 1985 survey data showed that the people who came to Europe before 1960 were less supportive of the religious practices and beliefs of Zoroastrianism than the people who came after 1960, but they were much more supportive of opening the symbolic boundaries than the people who came after 1960. Clearly this is borne out here by and the attitudes to the six purity laws of the people who were either born in Europe, or who came before 1960, who show the least support compared with the people who came to Europe after 1960.

TABLE 17a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashan s	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Decade of arrival total group affirm reject	298	64% 30%	63% 31%	60% 34%	58% 37%	35% 58%	38% 54%
pre-1960 N=	34	56% 19	50% 17	50% 17	41% 14	26% 9	12% 4
1960s N=	77	79% 61	75% 58	73% 56	75% 58	47% 36	45% 35
1970s N=	75	68% 51	71% 53	63% 47	47% 47	37% 28	48% 36
1980s,1990s,2000s N=	59	71% 42	68% 40	66% 39	63% 37	34% 20	47% 28
born in Europe N=	53	32% 17	38% 20	36% 19	30% 16	21% 11	17% 9
pre-1960 N=	34	44% 15	50% 17	50% 17	59% 20	68% 23	76% 26
1960s N=	77	17% 13	21% 16	22% 17	22% 17	51% 39	48% 37
1970s N=	75	27% 20	24% 18	33% 21	31% 23	60% 45	47% 35
1980s,1990s,2000s N=	59	27% 16	29% 17	30% 18	37% 22	59% 35	49% 29
born in Europe N=	53	51% 27	45% 24	47% 25	51% 27	57% 30	64% 34

TABLE 17b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashan s	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer

TABLE 17b MEN							
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Decade of arrival total group affirm reject	293	47% 47%	46% 48%	42% 52%	41% 52%	31% 62%	26% 67%
pre-1960 N=	63	36% 23	35% 22	35% 22	30% 19	32% 20	17% 11
1960s N=	86	57% 49	52% 45	46% 40	50% 43	33% 28	34% 29
1970s N=	62	47% 29	50% 31	42% 26	43% 27	32% 20	24% 15
1980s,1990s,2000s N=	32	59% 19	59% 19	59% 19	53% 17	37% 12	37% 12
born in Europe N=	50	36% 18	34% 17	32% 16	28% 14	22% 11	18% 9
pre-1960 N=	63	57% 36	59% 37	59% 37	59% 37	63% 40	76% 48
1960s N=	86	41% 35	44% 38	50% 43	46% 40	60% 52	59% 51
1970s N=	62	48% 30	42% 26	52% 32	50% 31	64% 40	68% 42
1980s,1990s,2000s N=	32	37% 12	41% 13	37% 12	47% 15	59% 19	62% 20
born in Europe N=	50	52% 26	54% 27	56% 28	58% 29	60% 30	68% 34

Education Level and Affirmation/ Rejection of the six purity laws

The 1976 and 1985 survey data demonstrated that as the respondents ascended educational levels, fewer supported the religious beliefs and practices. In 2003, the attitudes to the six purity laws follow a similar pattern, but there are some variations. Fewer women whose highest level of education was secondary school supported the six purity laws than the women with further education, except for the purity law 'Women should observe the child birth rituals'. The men affirm the purity laws in line with

what was expected from the 1976 and 1985 data that is the lower the educational level the higher the support for the six purity laws. Fifty percent, 21, of the women with only secondary education are over seventy years old and only three are under forty years of age, and for the men 15, 60%, are over 70 years of age and one under 20 years of age. The pattern of ranking the six purity laws for the women deviates for all the educational levels, ranking 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth, and the women respondents with postgraduate and undergraduate levels rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' first, but few percentages points are involved. The attitudes of the women respondents with only secondary level education to the six purity laws, goes against the 1976 and 1985 research data on age, but the attitude's of the male respondents is in line with the 1976 and 1985 data: the lower the educational level the higher the support for the religious practices and beliefs.

TABLE 18a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardig an/ Muktad Ceremon ies	Prayer Room	Jashan s	Priest	Child Birth Ritual s	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Level of Education total group affirm reject	298	64% 30%	63% 31%	60% 34%	58% 37%	35% 58%	38% 54%
secondary or less N=	42	69% 29	64% 27	64% 27	59% 25	48% 20	50% 21
further N=	97	71% 69	67% 65	64% 66	66% 64	35% 34	38% 37
undergraduate N=	61	64% 39	67% 41	59% 36	51% 31	34% 21	38% 23
postgraduate N=	97	55% 53	57% 55	53% 51	54% 52	30% 29	32% 31

TABLE 18a WOMEN							
secondary or less N=	42	21% 9	24% 10	24% 10	31% 13	43% 18	33% 14
further N=	97	27% 26	30% 29	30% 29	32% 31	57% 55	55% 53
undergraduate N=	61	34% 21	31% 19	39% 24	44% 27	59% 36	59% 36
postgraduate N=	97	36% 35	35% 34	38% 37	39% 38	65% 63	60% 58

TABLE 18b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardig an/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Level of Education total group affirm reject	293	47% 47%	46% 48%	42% 52%	41% 52%	31% 62%	26% 67%
secondary or less N=	25	60% 15	60% 15	56% 14	52% 13	44% 11	44% 11
further N=	60	60% 36	55% 33	55% 33	50% 30	38% 23	37% 22
undergraduate N=	78	45% 35	49% 38	38% 30	40% 31	31% 24	23% 18
postgraduate N=	130	40% 52	37% 48	35% 46	35% 46	25% 33	19% 25
secondary or less N=	25	36% 9	32% 8	36% 9	44% 11	44% 11	48% 12
further N=	60	35% 21	37% 22	40% 24	43% 26	57% 34	53% 32
undergraduate N=	78	47% 37	45% 35	51% 40	50% 39	56% 44	67% 52
postgraduate N=	130	55% 72	58% 76	61% 79	58% 76	71% 92	76% 99

Type of Education and Affirmation/ Rejection of the six purity laws

Overall, fewer women and men respondents who have had a scientific education support the six purity laws, whereas the respondents who had both liberal arts and scientific education have the highest percentage support. The women in the different sub-groups do change the rankings of the purity laws, with the women with scientific or both types of education ranking 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer' fifth. The women with a scientific education also ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid of the prayer room' first and the women with 'other' types of education ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' equal first. The men in the sub-group liberal arts education ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' first and the men in the 'other' types of education ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid of the prayer room' first and 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' third. Even though the numbers are small, the men change the rankings less than the women do. The lower percentage support for the six purity laws by respondents with a scientific education is in line with what would be expected from the 1985 research data, that the people with scientific education will show less support for the religious practices and than the people with other types of education.

TABLE 19a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6

TABLE 19a WOMEN							
Type of Education total group affirm reject	298	64% 36%	63% 31%	60% 34%	58% 37%	35% 58%	38% 54%
liberal arts N=	93	64% 60	61% 57	59% 55	56% 52	34% 32	34% 32
scientific N=	51	53% 27	57% 29	51% 26	45% 23	20% 10	35% 18
both N=	73	66% 48	68% 50	62% 45	62% 45	34% 25	38% 28
other N=	56	62% 35	59% 33	59% 33	62% 35	41% 23	34% 19
liberal arts N=	93	30% 28	33% 31	34% 32	38% 35	59% 55	58% 54
scientific N=	51	35% 18	33% 17	37% 19	43% 22	69% 35	55% 28
both N=	73	33% 24	29% 21	34% 25	37% 27	59% 43	58% 42
other N=	56	32% 18	34% 19	36% 20	34% 19	54% 30	54% 30

TABLE 19b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardig an/ Muktad Ceremoni es	Prayer Room	Jashan s	Priest	Child Birth Ritual s	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Type of Education total group affirm reject	293	47% 47%	46% 48%	42% 52%	41% 52%	31% 62%	26% 67%

TABLE 19b MEN							
liberal arts N=	46	48% 22	43% 20	37% 17	41% 19	28% 13	28% 13
scientific N=	123	41% 50	38% 47	39% 48	35% 43	24% 30	19% 24
both N=	50	44% 22	40% 20	40% 20	38% 19	28% 14	20% 10
other N=	59	59% 35	63% 37	51% 30	54% 32	49% 29	37% 22
liberal arts N=	46	46% 21	50% 23	54% 25	50% 23	61% 28	61% 28
scientific N=	123	54% 67	55% 68	56% 69	56% 69	67% 83	71% 88
both N=	50	52% 26	54% 27	56% 28	58% 29	68% 34	58% 42
other N=	59	34% 20	32% 19	41% 24	42% 25	49% 29	59% 35

Place of and Highest Level of Education: Secondary School or less

There are very small numbers in the section dealing with the respondents with secondary schooling or less, 39 for the women and 25 for the men. One of the men and one of the women respondents was under 20 years of age. Both the women and the men who had received their secondary schooling in Europe gave much less support for the purity laws than the respondents from India, Pakistan, Africa or Iran.

TABLE 20a WOMEN		
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws

TABLE 20a WOMEN							
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Place of and Highest Level of Education: Secondary School or less	42						
total group		69%	64%	64%	59%	48%	23%
affirm		21%	24%	24%	31%	43%	43%
reject							
India N=	13	77% 10	69% 9	54% 7	69% 9	46% 6	38% 5
Pakistan N=	1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	
Africa N=	17	82% 14	76% 13	82% 14	65% 11	65% 11	71% 12
Iran N=	3	67% 2	67% 2	100% 3	67% 2	33% 1	67% 2
other N=	1						
Europe N=	7	29% 2	29% 2	29% 2	29% 2	14% 1	29% 2
India N=	13	15% 2	15% 2	31% 4	23% 3	54% 7	38% 5
Pakistan N=	1						100% 1
Africa N=	17	12% 2	18% 3	12% 2	29% 5	23% 4	18% 3
Iran N=	3	33% 1	33% 1		33% 1	67% 2	33% 3
other N=	1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1
Europe N=	7	43% 3	43% 3	43% 3	43% 3	57% 4	43% 3

TABLE 20b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Place of and Highest Level of Education: Secondary School or less Total group affirm reject	25	60% 36%	60% 32%	56% 36%	52% 44%	44% 44%	44% 48%
India N=	11	89% 9	73% 8	73% 8	73% 8	45% 5	45% 5
Pakistan N=	2						
Africa N=	8	50% 4	62% 5	50% 4	37% 3	50% 4	50% 4
Other N=	1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1
Europe N=	3	33% 1	33% 1	33% 1	33% 1	33% 1	33% 1
India N=	11	18% 2	18% 2	18% 2	27% 3	36% 4	45% 5
Pakistan N=	2	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1
Africa N=	8	50% 4	37% 3	50% 4	62% 5	50% 4	50% 4
Other N=	1						
Europe N=	3	67% 2	67% 2	67% 2	67% 2	67% 2	67% 2

Place of and Highest Level of Education: Further

The women respondents who had had their further education in Europe gave the lowest percentage support for the six purity laws

and it was lower than for the women who had received their undergraduate education in Europe. The percentage difference for the men, between Europe and India, is practically negligible. The numbers for the respondents who had their further education in Pakistan, Africa, and Iran are very small and will be noted but will not be part of the discussion. Ninety seven women reached only further levels of education compared with 60 men. The numbers for the men in the different categories are small and it is difficult to place any reliance on generalisation about such small numbers. The women respondents who had had their further education in Europe ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' first. The women who had their further education in India ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' second, 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' fourth and 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth. Again, the women rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth. It was expected from the 1976 and 1985 data that the women with further education would support the purity laws at higher levels than the women with undergraduate education. This is not the case in the 2003 survey for the women born in Europe, but it is for the men. In an investigation into the demographic differences between the women and men in this group of people whose highest level of education was further education, it was found that there was little to choose between the two groups except that the women had a higher percentage of people born in Europe, 11%, compared with 8% for the men. Fifty four women were working compared with 30 men. For the women, working outside the home and having a mother who worked outside the home, impacted on the attitudes to the six purity laws; they were less likely to support them than the women who did not work outside the home and had a mother who did not do so.

TABLE 21a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Place of and Highest Level of Education: Further total group affirm reject	97						
		71% 27%	67% 30%	66% 30%	66% 32%	35% 57%	38% 57%
India N=	50	88% 44	78% 39	80% 14	84% 42	40% 20	54% 27
Pakistan N=	2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2	50% 1
Africa N=	8	87% 7	87% 7	87% 7	62% 5	37% 3	50% 4
Iran N=	1						
Europe N=	36	44% 16	47% 17	42% 15	42% 15	19% 7	14% 5
India N=	50	10% 5	18% 9	14% 7	14% 7	54% 27	38% 19
Pakistan N=	2						
Africa N=	8				25% 2	37% 3	37% 3
Iran N=	1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1	100% 1
Europe N=	36	56% 20	53% 19	58% 21	58% 21	67% 24	83% 30

TABLE 21b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					

TABLE 21b MEN							
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Place of and Highest Level of Education: Further	60						
total group		60%	55%	55%	50%	38%	37%
affirm		35%	37%	40%	43%	57%	53%
reject							
India		62%	59%	59%	52%	45%	41%
N= 25	25	18	17	17	15	13	12
Pakistan		40%	40%	40%	20%	40%	40%
N= 5	5	2	2	2	1	2	2
Africa		60%	60%	60%	60%	60%	40%
N= 5	5	3	3	3	3	3	2
Iran		60%	40%	60%	40%		40%
N= 5	5	3	2	3	2		2
Europe		62%	56%	50%	56%	31%	25%
N= 16	16	10	9	8	9	5	4
India		34%	31%	38%	41%	52%	48%
N= 25	25	10	9	11	12	15	14
Pakistan		60%	60%	60%	80%	40%	60%
N= 5	5	3	3	3	4	2	3
Africa		20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	40%
N= 5	5	1	1	1	1	1	2
Iran		40%	60%	40%	60%	100%	60%
N= 5	5	2	3	2	3	5	3
Europe		31%	37%	44%	37%	69%	62%
N= 16	16	5	6	7	6	11	10

Place of and Highest Level of Education: Undergraduate

The women and men respondents who had had their undergraduate education in Europe gave less support for the six purity laws than the respondents who had had their undergraduate education in India or Pakistan or Iran. The last two categories have very small numbers and will be reported but not considered in the discussion. However, the percentage support

from the respondents, both women and men, who had had their undergraduate education in Europe, was higher than the support given by the respondents who had had their postgraduate education in Europe. Again, as with the women who had had their postgraduate education in Europe, the women respondents who had had their undergraduate education in Europe ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' first and the women who had had their undergraduate education in India ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth. The men respondents who had their undergraduate education in India ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' first and 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' second. Two groups of women changed the rankings compared with only one of the groups of men.

TABLE 22a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
m. Place of and Highest Level of Education: Undergraduate total group affirm reject	61	64% 34%	67% 31%	59% 39%	51% 44%	34% 59%	38% 59%
India N=	28	71% 20	64% 18	64% 18	57% 16	36% 10	46% 13
Pakistan N=	2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2
Europe N=	31	55% 17	68% 21	52% 16	42% 13	29% 9	26% 8

TABLE 22a WOMEN								
India	N=	28	29% 8	36% 10	36% 10	39% 11	57% 16	50% 14
Pakistan	N=	2						
Europe	N=	31	42% 13	29% 9	45% 14	52% 16	64% 20	26% 8

TABLE 22b MEN								
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws						
		Favardig an/ Muktad Ceremon ies	Prayer Room	Jashan s	Priest	Child Birth Ritual s	Prayer	
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6	
m. Place of and Highest Level of Education: Undergraduate	78	45% 47%	49% 45%	38% 51%	40% 50%	31% 56%	23% 67%	
total group affirm reject								
India	N=	28	50% 14	61% 17	39% 11	54% 15	36% 10	32% 9
Pakistan	N=	2						
Iran	N=	1		100% 1			100% 1	
Europe	N=	47	45% 21	43% 20	40% 19	34% 16	28% 13	19% 9
India	N=	28	43% 12	32% 9	46% 13	32% 9	54% 14	57% 16
Pakistan	N=	2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2	100% 2
Iran	N=	1				100% 1		100% 1
Europe	N=	47	49% 23	51% 24	53% 25	57% 27	57% 27	70% 33

Place of and Highest Level of Education: Postgraduate.

The women and men respondents who had their postgraduate education in Europe had the lowest percentage affirmation of the six purity laws. All three groups of women changed the rankings of the six purity laws with the respondents educated in Europe ranking 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' first. The other two groups ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth as did the men who had their postgraduate education in India. The women changed the rankings more than the men. The attitudes of the respondents who had postgraduate level education are what were expected from the 1976 and 1985 data: those who were educated in Europe would show a lower support for the six purity laws than the respondents who received their postgraduate education outside Europe. It can repeatedly be seen in these tables, 20a to 23b, that the people at whatever levels, who were educated in Europe gave less support for the six purity laws.

TABLE 23a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priests	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Place of and Highest Level of Education: Postgraduate total group affirm reject	97	55% 36%	57% 35%	53% 38%	54% 39%	30% 65%	32% 60%
India N=	34	68% 23	68% 23	65% 22	65% 22	36% 12	47% 16
Pakistan N=	4	75% 3	75% 3	50% 2	75% 3	25% 1	50% 2

TABLE 23a WOMEN								
Europe	N=	59	46% 27	49% 29	46% 27	46% 27	27% 16	22% 13
India	N=	34	23% 8	26% 9	26% 9	29% 10	62% 21	47% 16
Pakistan	N=	4			25% 1	25% 1	75% 3	25% 1
Europe	N=	59	46% 27	42% 25	46% 27	46% 27	66% 39	69% 41

TABLE 23b MEN								
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws						
		Favardig an/ Muktad Ceremon ies	Prayer Room	Jashan s	Priest	Child Birth Ritual s	Prayer	
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6	
Place of and Highest Level of Education: Postgraduate total group affirm reject	130	40% 55%	37% 58%	35% 61%	35% 58%	25% 71%	19% 76%	
India	N=	25	48% 12	44% 11	44% 11	44% 11	28% 7	36% 9
Pakistan	N=	2	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1
Europe	N=	95	39% 37	36% 34	35% 33	35% 33	25% 24	16% 15
India	N=	25	52% 13	52% 13	56% 14	52% 13	72% 18	64% 16
Pakistan	N=	2	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1	50% 1
Europe	N=	95	56% 53	60% 57	61% 68	59% 56	69% 66	79% 75

Occupation and Affirmation/ Rejection of the six purity laws

When the women and the men who had occupations ranging from blue-collar to professional levels are considered, those in the blue-collar occupations had a lower level of support for the six purity

laws than would be expected, being lower than those in white-collar occupations. However, there are only 18 women and 20 men in the blue collar category and of these 10 are students and four 'no occupation given'. When the students and 'no occupation given' were taken out of the data analysis, it was found that the women who had blue collar occupations supported the purity laws at a higher percentage level of 67%, 67%, 67%, 50%, 25%, 58% respectively but their support was still lower than that of the women with white collar occupations. Similarly for the men, when the students and 'no-occupation given' are removed the men with blue occupations affirmed the purity laws at a higher percentage level, 50%, 50%, 50%, 42%, 25%, 42%. This was higher than the men with white collar occupations. The highest affirmation of the purity laws for the women was from those in white collar occupations and for the men it was those in the retired category. Fewer women and men with professional occupations affirm the six purity laws, which would be expected from the 1976 and 1985 research. The women did change the rankings with 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' ranked fifth. Again there were fewer ranking changes by the men.

TABLE 24a WOMEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardigan/ Muktad Ceremonies	Prayer Room	Jashans	Priest	Child Birth Rituals	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Occupation	29						
total group	8	64%	63%	60%	58%	35%	38%
affirm		30%	31%	34%	37%	58%	54%
reject							
armed forces/ farmer	33	61%	61%	58%	64%	36%	39%
N=		20	20	19	21	12	13

retired	N=	71	80% 57	69% 49	70% 50	72% 51	51% 36	41% 29
blue collar	N=	18	61% 11	67% 12	56% 10	50% 9	33% 6	56% 10
white collar	N=	68	69% 47	69% 47	63% 43	59% 40	34% 23	41% 28
business	N=	48	54% 26	62% 30	50% 27	50% 24	33% 16	33% 16
professional	N=	56	52% 29	50% 28	48% 27	46% 26	20% 11	29% 16
armed forces/ farmer	N=	33	33% 11	33% 11	36% 12	30% 10	61% 20	51% 17
retired	N=	71	15% 11	22% 16	21% 15	22% 16	42% 30	46% 33
blue collar	N=	18	28% 5	28% 5	39% 7	50% 9	56% 10	39% 7
white collar	N=	68	29% 20	29% 20	34% 23	38% 26	60% 41	54% 37
business	N=	48	35% 17	29% 14	33% 16	40% 10	56% 27	56% 27
professional	N=	56	43% 24	45% 25	46% 26	48% 27	75% 42	66% 37

TABLE 24b MEN							
Type of group	N	affirm/reject the six purity laws					
		Favardig an/ Muktad Ceremoni es	Prayer Room	Jashan s	Priest	Child Birth Ritual s	Prayer
Rank		1	2	3	4	5	6
Occupation total group affirm reject	293	47% 47%	46% 48%	42% 52%	41% 52%	31% 62%	26% 67%
armed forces/ farmer N=	8	50% 4	62% 5	37% 3	50% 4	50% 4	37% 3
retired N=	89	58% 52	53% 47	51% 45	51% 45	45% 40	37% 33

TABLE 24b MEN							
blue collar N=	20	40% 8	40% 8	50% 9	35% 7	20% 4	30% 6
white collar N=	24	46% 11	42% 10	37% 9	29% 7	29% 7	12% 3
business N=	33	51% 17	54% 18	42% 14	48% 16	18% 6	24% 8
professional N=	118	39% 46	39% 46	37% 44	35% 41	25% 30	19% 23
armed forces/ farmer N=	8	37% 3	37% 3	50% 4	50% 4	50% 4	62% 5
retired N=	89	35% 31	37% 33	39% 35	40% 36	47% 42	53% 47
blue collar N=	20	55% 11	55% 11	55% 11	55% 11	65% 13	60% 12
white collar N=	24	42% 10	50% 12	50% 12	62% 15	50% 12	71% 17
business N=	33	45% 15	42% 14	54% 18	48% 16	76% 25	73% 24
professional N=	118	58% 68	57% 67	60% 71	58% 69	71% 84	75% 89

SUMMARY OF INTRA-GROUP ANALYSES

The main finding of the analyses is that the majority of the respondents, whether women or men, affirm the purity laws, 'Menstruating women should avoid Favardigan/ Mukta ceremonies', 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room', 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans' and 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' and the majority reject 'Women should observe the child birth rituals' and 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer'. Again the bench marks from the 1976 and 1985 data sets are supported but with some variations within the sub-groups of men and women and there are differences as well as similarities between the sub-groups of women and men and their attitudes to the six purity laws. The support of and the deviation from the bench marks and the similarities and differences between the sub-groups of women and the men are listed in table 23. They

follow similar patterns to those set out in the summary of the inter-group analyses of the demographic similarities and differences between the women's and men's attitudes to affirming or rejecting all six purity laws. The categories of bench marks, expected or unexpected will be designated by E or U.

TABLE 23 THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SUB- GROUPS OF WOMEN AND MEN AND THEIR ATTITUDES TO THE SIX PURITY			
Similarities	E or U	Differences	E or U
1. Age Women and men under 30 years lowest affirmation Women and men under 30 years rank 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans' first	 E U	1. Age Women 60-69 years highest affirmation Men 30-39 years highest affirmation Women consistently rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth	 U U
2. Marital status Little difference between single/ married categories in affirmation	 U	2. Marital status Married women 'affirming' and both groups, single and married men 'rejecting' rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth	 U

TABLE 23 THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SUB- GROUPS OF WOMEN AND MEN AND THEIR ATTITUDES TO THE SIX PURITY			
Similarities	E or U	Differences	E or U
3. Marital partner Zoroastrian/ non-Zoroastrian Respondents with Zoroastrian partners affirmation levels much higher than respondents with non-Zoroastrian partners	E	3. Marital partner Zoroastrian/ non-Zoroastrian Women married to Zoroastrians rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth Men married to non-Zoroastrian partners 'affirming' rank Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' first Men married Zoroastrians 'rejecting' rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' third and 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth Men married to non-Zoroastrians 'rejecting' rank 'Women should observe the child birth rituals' fifth	U U U U
4. Type of family The raw numbers for nuclear and extended families are roughly the same for women and men	U	4. Type of family Women from nuclear families have higher affirmation levels than the women from extended families but it is the reverse of this for the men All groups change the rankings except for men 'affirming' from extended families	E U U

TABLE 23 THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SUB- GROUPS OF WOMEN AND MEN AND THEIR ATTITUDES TO THE SIX PURITY			
Similarities	E or U	Differences	E or U
5. Children under 18 years The rankings are changed in most categories for both the women and the men	U	5. Children under 18 years Women with children under 18 years affirm at lower levels than women without children less than 18 years Men are the opposite of this Women in most categories rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth. Men rank 'Menstruating women should avoid of prayer' fifth in one category	U E U U
6. Place live greater London/ Other Both women and men affirm the six purity laws at a higher level than the respondents who do not live in this area. Both women and men virtually rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' equal first with 'Menstruating women should avoid of Favardigan/ Mukta ceremonies' The women and men who do not live in the Greater London area do not change the rankings	E U E	6. Place live greater London/ Other Women from the Greater London rank 'Menstruating women should avoid of prayer' fifth	U

TABLE 23 THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SUB- GROUPS OF WOMEN AND MEN AND THEIR ATTITUDES TO THE SIX PURITY			
Similarities	E or U	Differences	E or U
7. Country before Europe Women and men from Africa affirm at the highest levels and women and men from Europe affirm at the lowest levels	E	7. Country before Europe All the women's categories rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth but the men do not Women change other rankings whereas the men do not	U E
8. Metropolitan or Urban/ Rural environment Women and men from an urban/ rural environment affirm at higher percentage levels than respondents from metropolitan environments Women and men from Metropolitan environments rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' third	E U	8. Metropolitan or Urban/ Rural environment Women from urban/ rural environment rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth	U
9. Decade of arrival in Europe Women and men born in Europe or came before 1960 have the lowest levels of affirmation	E	9. Decade of arrival in Europe Women who came in the 1960s have the highest affirmation Men who came after 1980 have the highest affirmation	U E

TABLE 23 THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SUB- GROUPS OF WOMEN AND MEN AND THEIR ATTITUDES TO THE SIX PURITY			
Similarities	E or U	Differences	E or U
10. Education Level The higher the education levels of the women and men the lower affirmation of the six purity laws	E	10. Education Level There is one exception for the women with secondary level education and they affirm lower than women with further education All categories of women rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer', fifth Women with higher than further education rank 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' first Men do not change the rankings	U U U E
11. Type of education Women and men with a scientific education affirm at the lowest levels	E	11. Type of education All categories of women rank 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth Women change other rankings Men barely do so	U

TABLE 23 THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SUB- GROUPS OF WOMEN AND MEN AND THEIR ATTITUDES TO THE SIX PURITY			
Similarities	E or U	Differences	E or U
12. Place of and highest level of education. The women and men who had education in Europe at what ever level had the lowest affirmation levels The lower the education levels the higher the affirmation of the purity laws from people educated outside Europe	E E	12. Place of and highest level of education. The women for most categories ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth The women changed other rankings generally 'Menstruating women should avoid of the prayer room' first or 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' to second or third The men barely changed the rankings	U U E
13. Occupation. Women and men who were retired had the highest affirmation of the six purity laws Women and men who had blue collar jobs had lower affirmation levels than expected. People with professional occupations had the lowest affirmation	E U E	13. Occupation. Business men had the second highest affirmation levels Women with white collar occupations had the second highest affirmation levels Women ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid of prayer' fifth as did business men Business women and men ranked 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room' first	U E U U

For both women and men, being born in Europe, coming as a young child or coming as an adult before 1960 is associated with the lowest percentage levels of affirmation of the six purity laws.

Women and men who were educated in Europe have low percentage affirmation of the six purity laws and if the highest level of education of the respondent was attained in Europe, then this is associated with low levels of affirmation of the six purity laws. Respondents with a scientific education have low support for the six purity laws as do respondents with professional occupations. Respondents who have married non-Zoroastrians or who have non-Zoroastrian partners have low percentage support for the six purity laws as do the respondents who do not live in the Greater London area of South East England. Thus, the respondents who live away from the Zoroastrian centre in London or who have been educated in Europe or who have married non-Zoroastrians have low support for the purity laws. On the whole, respondents who were born in Europe or who came to Europe as very small children, consistently rank the purity laws differently from that of the total group of respondents. Men barely change the rankings of the purity laws and they remain consistent throughout the analyses. The women change the ranking of the purity laws, but the overall order remains the same because the changes are between laws adjacent in the rankings and only involves a few percentage points. There is one exception to this for the women and that is of consistently ranking 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' fifth and not sixth: the women consider that it is more important to avoid prayer when menstruating than it is to avoid the child birth rituals. The rituals after child birth primarily involve women and not men and they are centred on the household of the mother. Also, the child birth rituals are celebratory and joyous occasions for the women⁸ and for this reason the women consider that they are not important purity laws compared with the other five purity laws discussed in this text, which are not

⁸ This was noted in chapter 2, [page 72](#), in the discussion about the survey conducted by Dr Romy Mistry and Dr Shernaz Cama in Mumbai, other towns in Gujarat and rural Gujarat in 2004.

joyous or celebratory. The purity laws that affect men as well as women are ranked higher by the women than the purity law which solely concerns women.

Generally, the first four of the six purity laws, 'Menstruating women should avoid the Favardigan/ Muktaḍ ceremonies', 'Menstruating women should avoid of the prayer room', 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans', 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' are affirmed by the majority of the respondents, whereas the two purity laws 'Women should observe the child birth rituals' and 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' are rejected by the majority of the respondents. What is important about the purity laws is the degree of pollution that occurs when the purity law is not practiced. It is the duty of each Zoroastrian to fight ritual pollution daily in the continuing battle with Ahriman. Menses is considered to be one of the most polluting circumstances for a Zoroastrian woman or a man who comes into contact with her. At one time, even her gaze was considered to be polluting and thus she had to be secluded formal contact with members of her family, even visual contact. Today the seclusion of menstruating women has disappeared in the Diaspora, but other aspects of the polluting situations caused by menses are considered important. Some situations are considered more damaging in terms of pollution than others. This is evidenced by the ranking of the six purity laws by the respondents; they were ranked by the respondents according to the degree of pollution by the violation of a particular purity law. The ranking was not specifically asked for in the 2003 questionnaire, but was what was observed when the data was analysed. The ranking came from the percentage affirmation of a particular purity law by the respondents in their responses to the questions about the six purity laws. In a sense it was a subconscious ranking of the six purity laws by the respondents. The rankings by percentage

affirmation were close for the first four purity laws with few percentage points between the first and fourth ranking. Similarly for the two purity laws that were rejected by the majority of the respondents there was little difference between their percentage affirmations and their rankings of fifth and sixth. Whichever sub-group was analysed, the purity law 'Menstruating women should avoid, the Favardigan/ Muktaḍ ceremonies', the ceremonies for the souls of the dead, remains consistently in first place. The other five purity laws are not so obviously associated with death, except that they involve loss of blood, which is associated with death for Zoroastrians. The purity law that 'Women should observe the rituals after child birth' was only ranked fifth by men and sixth by women, when according to Zoroastrian theological precepts it would be considered to be first, or at the very least second after 'Menstruating women should avoid Favardigan/ Muktaḍ ceremonies': child birth is one of the most polluting activities according to Zoroastrian religious tenets. The presence of the menstruating woman is polluting for the environment and the people in that environment, and thus avoidance of the prayer room and the priest who attends to the ritual fire, would be high on the list for avoidance by menstruating women, as well attendance at Jashans which are conducted by priests. 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' would be ranked last because the woman can be on her own and say the prayers internally and not make contact with religious artefacts or religious places or people. However, there are some sub-groups, both women and men that do not follow this generalisation of the ranking of the six purity laws, These are the sub-groups of respondents who are moving away from Zoroastrianism. These sub-groups were analysed in detail from the data regarding the attitudes of the women and men towards the six purity laws, together with their attitudes to religious beliefs, practices and the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism and other aspects of being Zoroastrian in Europe

in 2003. The women and men who affirm the six purity laws also affirm the religious beliefs and practices of Zoroastrianism. However, these analyses cannot be reported because of the word limit of 100,000 words for this thesis. The research of the data has been conducted and it will be reported in future papers.

REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS ON THE RESEARCH DATA ON THE SIX PURITY LAWS

The bench marks from the 1976 and 1985 data sets and analyses were supported by the analyses of women and men and their attitudes to the six purity laws. There were some differences from these bench marks in the sub-groups of women and men, primarily to do with age, type of family, children under 18 years of age, metropolitan versus urban or rural environment that the respondent came from, the date of arrival in Europe and occupation. On the whole, the women deviate from the bench marks more than the men.

The high response rate to the questions about the six purity laws from the 2003 survey of Zoroastrians in Europe, demonstrates the importance of these purity laws for Zoroastrians in Europe in the year 2003. This data supports the information that the author has about the importance of the discussions within the community about these six purity laws. The women always affirm them at a much higher percentage rate than the men: on average 20 percentage points and conversely the men always reject them at a much high rate than the women. The ranking by percentage affirmation of the six purity laws by the respondents generally goes from the highest to the lowest in the order of; 'Menstruating women should avoid the Favardigan/ Muktaḍ ceremonies, the prayer room, Jashans, the priest', 'Women should observe the childbirth rituals' to 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer'. The percentage rejection is always the opposite of this list but

there can be differences in the percentages between affirmation and rejection because of the 'no response' rate. The overall rankings remain consistent throughout the analyses with the one exception to this for the women, who consistently rank 'Menstruating women avoidance of prayer' fifth and not sixth. Men barely change the rankings of the six purity laws. Sub-groups of the women do change the ranking, but the changes are between laws adjacent in the rankings and only involve a few percentage points or a few women.

Within the sub-groups of Zoroastrians there are interesting differences in the strength of the percentage of affirmation or rejection of the six purity laws and to the ranking of them. The women and men who affirm all the six purity laws follow a general pattern of being older, coming to Europe as adults, coming from Pakistan (but not the men), Africa, and India. As a group, they are not as highly educated or have as high status occupations as the women and men who reject the six purity laws. The women and men who rejected all the six purity laws have a younger age profile than the affirmative group: a third of them were born in Europe and a third had come to Europe as young children. A much higher percentage of the 'rejecting' groups of women and men was or had been married to non-Zoroastrians than for the 'affirming' groups. The 'rejecting' groups of women and men had a higher percentage of postgraduates who had studied in Europe and they had a much higher percentage of scientifically educated women and men than the 'affirming' group. In addition, the 'rejecting' groups had a much higher percentage of professional parents than the 'affirming' groups. Also, the majority of members of the 'rejecting' groups did not live in the Greater London area. This finding reflects the data from the 1985 survey where the scattered groups were less supportive of the religious practices, beliefs and the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism than the respondents who

lived in and around the greater London area of South East England.

There are demographic similarities and differences between the women and the men and their attitudes to the six purity laws, with more similarities than differences between the women and the men. Coming to Europe as an adult seems to be a dominant factor in determining support for the six purity laws for both women and men. The two most important differences between women and men are that the women were roughly equal in their numbers in terms of affirming or rejecting all six purity laws, whereas two and half times more men rejected all six purity laws than affirmed them. There was little difference in the age profile of the men who affirmed all six purity laws and the men who rejected all six purity laws whereas for the women the age profile of the 'rejecting' group was much younger than that of the 'affirming' group.

The affirmation or rejection of the six purity laws from the data from the 2003 survey of Zoroastrians in Europe was generally as expected, given the bench marks from the surveys of 1976 and 1985. However, there some interesting anomalies, such as the age group 30 to 39 years. A high proportion of this age group was born in Europe and are second generation European Zoroastrians; they affirm the six purity laws in a way that suggests they are maintaining their religion in the manner of their parents. The Iranian Zoroastrian's responses are important because they are consistent with each other and the majority tend to reject all six purity laws. They are only 24 in number and these results should be viewed with caution. Some members of the community regard women who have married non-Zoroastrians as no longer Zoroastrian and try to exclude them from the Zoroastrian religion, but in spite of this, some of these inter-married women continue to support the six purity laws. Levels of education and type of

education follow the pattern that is expected from the 1976 and 1985 data. However, women and men with only secondary schooling have a lower affirmation rate of the six purity laws than would be expected from the 1976 and 1985 data, and the results also go against this data on age and place they came from, as well as level of education. Occupation and the six purity laws follow the trend that would have expected from the 1976 and 1985 data except for the blue-collar occupations. When the educational levels of the blue-collar women and men are examined it is found that a number of them have high educational levels. Their occupational status does not match their educational levels. The numbers involved in these categories of education and occupation are small and should therefore be viewed with caution. Business men and women with white collar occupations affirmed the six purity laws at the second highest level of the occupational groups. This was what was expected from the 1985 data. Women whose mothers worked outside the home gave less support for the six purity laws than the women whose mothers had solely been homemakers. For the men, it made little difference whether their mother worked outside the home in terms of their attitudes to the six purity laws.

Zoroastrian women and men in Europe, in 2003, continue to affirm the six purity laws at high levels and they rank them by percentage affirmation/ rejection by the group or sub-group of women or men consistently from first to sixth. The purity law from the six purity laws researched in this thesis, which is closest to death, apart from 'Women should observe the child birth rituals', is that of 'Menstruating women avoiding the Favardigan/ Muktaḍ ceremonies' and it is consistently ranked first. The purity laws associated with religious places or people, 'Menstruating women should avoid the prayer room', 'Menstruating women should avoid Jashans', and 'Menstruating women should avoid the priest' are consistently ranked second, third and fourth. The purity law

dealing with 'Menstruating women should avoid prayer' is consistently ranked sixth by the men but fifth by the women. According to the two most active priests from London, menstruating women can continue to pray during menstruation provided they take the necessary precautions to not to touch religious objects, persons or places, and one priest stipulated that they should pray in silence and not to speak their prayers out aloud. The purity law that is ranked fifth by the men and sixth by the women is that of 'Women should observe the rituals after child birth'. Logically within the Zoroastrian theological concept of pollution, this should be high on the list of rankings because of the pollution associated with child birth due to the loss of blood and other bodily substances, but it is consistently ranked low, fifth and sixth by both men and women in Europe. Is this because the observance of child birth rituals concerns women and is centred on the home? Therefore it is ranked last by the women as not being as important as the purity laws which concern the men? Is it because the child birth rituals are joyous and celebratory? Is it because it is difficult in Europe, to practice all the complex rituals associated with child birth? Seclusion of women during menstruation has died out as a practice though the belief might still be there for Zoroastrians. Perhaps the rituals associated with child birth are declining in the same way because it is impractical to practice some of them today even though the belief is still there in the Zoroastrian religious tenets regarding the six purity laws. The research from the three surveys, 1976, 1985 and 2003, consistently indicates that women regard their religion as a personal private matter whereas for the men it is a public matter. This is shown by the women's higher support for the religious beliefs than for the religious practices in the three surveys and vice versa for the men. This would explain why the women rank 'Women should observe the child birth rituals' last, because it only concerns women, is celebratory, and is a private matter for them.⁹

In chapter 6 reflections and conclusions about the data presented, the discussions, and the conclusions drawn in chapter 5 will be presented along with reflections on the data and discussions in chapters 3 and 4.

ENDNOTES

⁹ See Appendix E, Future research, B